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796 782 • 585 881 Such feasts are held five to six times a year; not at fixed times, but corresponding to the ripening of the fruits, or to the time of the great fishing trips, depending on whether it is a matter of the sacrifice of fruits, mandioca, or of fish to the deity. Or also on the occasion of marriage and initiation of the young people.

/338/ The following attests to the religious character of the feast:

[192] 1st. -- In first place, the very denomination of Wãx-tĩye-baxsá, dance of Wãx-tĩ. The natives of Ipanuré-cachoeira told Koch G. that on certain days they heard a deep noise in the cachoeira, like that of the great sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ. It is a sign, then, that the Wãx-tĩ of the cachoeira wants a feast held for him.

[123] [124] [115] 2nd. -- The affirmations (some clearer, others more veiled) of the natives, although they keep many things hidden, and in general the old people, who know more, are the most reserved. Asking the old Christian Tukano Júlio, tuxáua-bayá of Pari-cachoeira (that is, local chief and dance master), why they put those ornaments on the head, nape, arm, etc., he answered us at once: "The same as the Padre puts on the biretta and his vestments at the Mass, so we put on the acangatara /feather headdress/."

Manifesting to the same tuxaua the desire to attend a Poosé held by him, in order to film it, he answered immediately: "Such a dance is not for fun." This same tuxaua, after having made some revelations to us and having sung for us the songs of the Poosé, manifested to a Missionary scruples about having committed a mistake by doing so.

3rd. -- The seriousness with which they proceed. No distractions or frivolity, no laughter or conversation (45).

45. During one of these dances, somebody among the civilized spectators started to laugh. The tuxaua sent one of his men to warn that he should not laugh, just as he did not laugh during the functions of the whites. If he continued to do it,

/414 cont./

583 daughter (always the aspect of self-interest), that she is the one who takes care of the children, works in the clearing, makes beijú, etc. No one, however, will stop the abduction.

3) The Act of marriage.

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The abductors (14),

> 14. Some natives informed us of sexual relations which take place between the abductors and the maiden, and some of them added that such relations are always licit in the future. It might be that originally it was a matter of a privilege of the abductors. A privilege, however, that today has lost its justification, being leveled in practice in the great general freedom.

perhaps after several days of traveling by canoe, bring the young woman to the young man's maloca and hand her over with this formula and request (which was given to us by Dorotéia Brito): -- "We went looking for a girl for you; now take care of her; that she may be a good mother, that she does not run away." They do not perform any other rite on this occasion; this was the positive statement made by all of them.

/415/ Frequently for this circumstance a feast takes place in the maloca. It does not seem that such a feast is a religious rite of marriage. Not only does it not have a well-determined date, but perhaps the marriage is not realized either. And in the unfolding of the feast there are no allusions to the marriage. They greatly enjoy feasts, and the one on this occasion has the psychological aim of settling the girl's mind so that she will not greatly feel the distance from her family. All the more since she finds herself in a tribe different from her own, with whose language she is perhaps entirely unfamiliar.

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583 If the girl cannot take any initiative directly, by showing
584 her preferences, she at least enjoys the "right of veto." That is, speaking in thesis: she will not marry someone she does not like. It is true that she will think carefully beforehand, because, rejecting this proposal, perhaps another will not come. And, besides, she will suffer bad treatment from her people, who, according to the compromises of the Põáperi, must give a wife to the other family.

Who knows even whether she will be a victim of malefice, dohasé? Nevertheless, if she absolutely does not want to marry such a youth, two courses are left to her: first, she does not let herself be abducted, and sometimes she flees to another maloca nearby, when she knows that they are coming to fetch her. Or to flee from the young man's house (15).

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15. A Taryana woman, Teodora from Iauareté, informed us that the woman can not say anything. But, if she likes the young man, she lets herself be abducted; in the opposite case she will flee from the maloca of the young man.

4) Stability.

• 585 The existence of the marriage and its stability are not yet assured. The young woman will give proof of her good will and ability to be the lady of the house.

[591] [606] If they do not live in the regime of a maloca, perhaps later the young man might build his independent dwelling; for now he will remain in his parents' house, and the mother-in-law orders the girl to prepare the manicuera /fermented manioc-juice/ and the drinks for the nuptial feast.

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• 585 [241] Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

[115] [226]

16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

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585 If the flight does not take place, the marriage is considered realized.

[606] [431] A short time later they customarily take a nuptial trip, on which the young man, accompanied by his wife, goes to visit the father-in-law, taking him presents (smoked fish, fruit, etc.), and thus the friendly relations will be strengthened. These nuptial trips, moreover, appear in the legends.

*[192] The wife will take with her, for the new home, as dowry or property, her pi'ĩkamõ, that is, a small cipo basket, with her ornaments, utilitarian objects, and a cluster of leaves containing õnõñá powder (carajurú /carajura/).

Immediately in the first days of the marriage the husband will give the wife a beating. He will hit her, however, with the hands, so they assured us; and she cannot react. Although it is a matter of a custom that aims at finding out the good will of the girl and her capacity for suffering, it seems, nevertheless, that it is the circumstance of some misunderstanding between the spouses that will provide the opportunity for this beating.

a) /sic: 5)/ Relations between the spouses.

593 The relations between the spouses are normal enough. Perhaps they might be called friendly (18),

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> 18. We had the opportunity to travel with a Karapanã family from the headwaters of the Papurí and to see the wife in a long and cordial conversation with the husband.

although without caresses and other displays of affection, since it is certain that some familiarity will arise from their living together. The husband will fear that bad treatment will drive away the wife (19).

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> 19. Several episodes have been reported to us. In the beginning of 1954, during our stay in

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



for granted, had remained home. When this was discovered the headman and all the able-bodied men he could muster rushed for their canoes and paddled furiously downriver to intercept the "abductors." The girl's mother sputtered with indignation at the *Tatúyo* who had "tricked them" and at her daughter who had betrayed them. This, it emerged, was a genuine elopement. The older sister, willful as ever, had no intention of being "tamed" by anyone, least of all by backwater Indians. Her younger sister was eager, however, and it was no trouble to get the *Tatúyo* to accept her. In due time the *Tatúyo* were intercepted. Assuredly they allowed themselves to be intercepted. Since the girl would under no circumstances agree to come home, the parties had only to settle the conditions of an exchange marriage. The *Tatúyo* designated a girl, ripe to be taken as a wife at any time, and by way of apologizing for eloping with the wrong daughter agreed to add a large canoe. Back home, the headman berated his sister for thinking more of the interests of her *Tatúyo* husband than of her *Bahúkiwa* people.

The elopement postponed the marriage of the older son, who was eager for a wife and precipitated the younger one into a marriage to which he had not yet been giving thought, so strong is the Cubeo convention of pairing a brother and sister for an exchange marriage. In a few months the younger son was sent to "demand" the bride promised. I did not accompany the marriage party to the *Tatúyo*. But when the party returned with a very attractive young bride they reported to the satisfaction of the headman that the groom, having first offered his sister a chance to return home, asked for the bride. The girl was brought out. He took her by the hand and led her to the canoe. "We did not even stay overnight," he boasted. Such brusqueness and calculated discourtesy would not occur if the exchange were with the maternal sib.

Sheer sexual attractiveness is regarded as the wrong reason for choosing a bride. The point is not only that physical sturdiness and industriousness are better traits, but that a sexually provocative woman will be a source of trouble to the sib. A responsibility of an elder accompanying a marriage party is to remind the groom-to-be to pay attention to the sterling qualities of a bride, that do include, however, such erotically desirable features as large, full breasts, a strong back, and a clear skin. They would prefer to have her sullen rather than vivacious.

Formal marriage is signalized by what must be regarded as the "rite of abduction." The groom seizes his bride and runs with her to the canoe. She cries out for help and her male kin rush out and

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
. CUBEO



beat her "abductor" with sticks or with their bare hands. His own companions aid him, and if the girl is willing, they get to the canoe landing with no serious damage. This display of ceremonial violence satisfies two Cubeo doctrines, one that affinal sibs are "hostile" and the other that a woman will not leave her sib by her own volition but must be torn from it by brute force. There is also a third notion, namely, that a man be strong enough to capture a bride. I heard many accounts, perhaps apocryphal, of fainthearted striplings who could not bring home a bride. Such stories are often told to tease young bride seekers.

Father Giacone (1949, p. 21), who studied the Tucano tribe, reported no courtship and no marriage ceremony but did note forcible seizure of the bride. Father Giacone's information does suggest some variation in practice among the Tucano. There, the bride is not seized by the groom but by the groom's father, who has been accompanied by some men. They pretend they have come to purchase a canoe. In the midst of their visit for this purpose they carry off the girl and bring her home, unmolested, to the waiting groom. Often, he notes, this is the first time they have met. The girl is timid and retiring, he reports, and the women undertake to cheer her up by inviting her to accompany them on their labors. When the bride begins to work with satisfaction at all her tasks the marriage is considered settled. Some weeks later her parents come to reclaim her and the groom hides her. Her parents are given presents if she is unwilling to return home. At a later visit they repay with gifts of their own.

In general, Tucano and Cubeo marriage practices are alike; the most striking difference is in the fetching home of the bride. Cubeo notions of manhood would be offended at the notion that the father should bring a bride home for his son.

Among the Cubeo, the early stages of marriage are almost invariably difficult for the young couple. They are barely acquainted and the husband is expected to show his wife only the barest semblance of affection so as not to interfere with his mother, whose role it is to assimilate the young bride into her household as a replacement for the "lost daughter." The bride enters her mother-in-law's service, working with her in the manioc garden and in the preparation of manioc. Doing all the chores that she has done as an unmarried girl in her own community but under a strange woman, she is understandably disappointed, even though she is received very warmly. She is immediately locked in a conflict with her mother-in-law for her freedom. The issue is the manioc garden. A woman wants her daughter-in-law to help her in her garden and the daughter-in-law,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEo



585 593 606 knowing that her full status as a married woman begins with her having her own garden, must get her husband to get her out of her mother-in-law's household. He, however, knows his mother's will and is also aware that the men of the sib are watching him to see if he will be strong enough to stand up against his wife, the "alien" to the sib.

585 586 593 614 If the stalemate continues too long the young wife has the means to break it. She runs away. It is a married woman's privilege to run away at any time during her marriage. Her husband will pursue her, but she has many sanctuaries. She can get back to her own community, where she is safe and has the certainty that she will not be yielded up to a pursuing husband and that he has no claim against her parents. The common view is that if a man is not strong enough to hold a wife that is his misfortune. A runaway wife may find sanctuary in any sib, even in one that is closely related to that of her husband. A neighboring sib is only a temporary stopover for a runaway wife. It provides a more neutral atmosphere, however, in which she and her pursuing husband can discuss the reasons why she has run away. It is young brides who most frequently run off. Occasionally a girl is seriously determined to leave her husband and she will then most certainly find her way home, even if she has to go afoot all the way. Ordinarily she expects her husband to intercept her. When he brings her back the headman will say to him, "Take charge of your wife," [837] and the husband will proceed to prepare a manioc garden for his wife. Some young wives provoke a crisis by seducing the husband's brother and allowing the community to find out. Again the headman will say, "Take charge of your wife."

585 586 593 614 182 These crises are so common in the early stages of marriage that I am inclined to regard them as quasi-ritual, and as part of a prolonged marriage ceremony at the end of which the wife achieves her proper status as controller of an autonomous zone, her manioc garden, and as female head of household. The act of running away suggests a counterpart to the initial act of "abduction." Both acts acknowledge the unruly role of the alien woman and emphasize the power of the man in restoring order. The man who brings his runaway wife back has scored a victory in the eyes of his sib. This victory absolves him from the onus of seeming to "give in" to the demands of his wife. But if the act of bringing back a runaway wife is a bit of ritual, it must also be stated that it is not devoid of spontaneous and rich human emotion.

595 Monogamy is the rule and is consistent with the preference for exchange marriage. Polygyny and polyandry, however, are not barred.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO



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the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

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The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

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The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.